'Hare and His Wife'

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'Hare and His Wife': Making the Case for the Trickster's Androgyny

Wazha Lopang*

Abstract

This paper goes beyond an oral-aural appreciation of Ikalanga trickster tales to explore the tacit manner in which patriarchy views *shulo* (hare) the Ikalanga trickster as male. We explain the concept of androgyny to demonstrate why the trickster is a successful character, even though some storytellers and critics view the trickster as either male or female. The paper argues that seeing the trickster as either male or female is flawed because the trickster functions outside the paradigms of masculinity and femininity. It is this non-conformity that helps us to better appreciate how we define ourselves socially as human beings. Using queer theory as a theoretical framework, we argue that even though Ikalanga trickster tales depict characters that display masculine and feminine qualities, the trickster is androgynous and operates outside the exclusive feminine and masculine paradigms. Because of this androgyny, hare does not function in a manner that is socially conditioned. Going into the culmination of Botswana's national Vision 2016, with its pillars of an Informed and Educated Nation as well as a Moral and Tolerant Nation, the concept of an androgynous trickster is revolutionary as it transforms the traditional manner that a storyteller and indeed a listener looks at their society.

Introduction

Ikalanga trickster tales are a favourite pastime enjoyed by adults and children alike. However, not much analysis has been done with regards to the gender of the trickster and how this influences one's understanding of the trickster tale. Using queer theory it is argued that it is wrong to assume that the trickster is male by relying on traditional notions of masculinity and femininity. Queer theory developed in the 1990s as an alternative way of viewing gender and though it has a certain fluidity about its definition, in simple terms this theory operates outside these binary oppositions of what it means to be 'male' or 'female' and our analysis of an Ikalanga trickster tale will seek to highlight this fact. The argument is that what makes the trickster successful in Ikalanga trickster tales is that it is androgynous. We will show how scholars have portrayed the sex of the trickster and why it will be advisable to refer to the trickster as androgynous.

Queer theory challenges heterosexuality as the 'natural' or legitimate identity. It is a theory that questions male-female dichotomies and expresses alternate identities. In this regard queer theory is more in line with post structuralism theory or even deconstruction in that it views sexual identity not as natural but as a social construct. 'Queer focuses on mismatches between sex, gender and desire' observes Jagose (1996:3). The general argument that queer theorists have is that our understanding of gender should not be viewed as something that is immutable or fixed, but rather as a fluid concept. According to Bornstein (1995:78) gender is 'a social disease' and this shows how in the postmodern age the process of ascribing gender remains quite controversial even in oral literature. Since queer theory challenges the dichotomies of masculinity and femininity, where you operate in society should not be determined by your gender. The theory of liminality, perhaps, sheds some insight into how androgyny as a concept can be viewed. The theory, which essentially denotes rite of passage, came into being in the 1960s and it is claimed that 'liminal individuals are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arranged by law, custom, convention and ceremony' (Turner 1969:95).Therefore, such individuals have a fluidity about them that enables them to be in a state of flux and not straightjacketed into a particular cultural role.

Though the trickster does display aspects of liminality given its ambiguous nature this animal does

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not undergo a rite of passage but operates in a particular setting without adherence to male-female dichotomies. We aim to use queer theory to show how the gender roles in this Ikalanga oral narrative are not arbitrary, particularly when it comes to gendering the trickster.

Literature review

There is quite a large amount of work in oral literature that interrogates the relationship between orality and politics (Bloch 1975; Sapir and Crocker 1977; Paine 1981; Bailey 1983 and Parkin 1984). However, the specific sex of the trickster and its relationship in the epistemology of gender and performance is still an area in its infancy. An understanding of the trickster is, perhaps, ideal before one can consider its gender. Carroll (1984:106) states that 'the term trickster was first introduced in connection with the study of North American Indian mythology and the North American trickster is not at all a clever hero'.Carroll's observation is that this trickster was obsessed with a need to indulge in food and, sex and its attempts to satisfy its cravings tended to backfire spectacularly. This image of the trickster is far different from that found in Botswana. Mischief and buffoonery define the character of hare, *mmutla* (in Setswana) and *shulo* (in Ikalanga). The humour in these trickster tales distracts the listener from the manner in which the characters interact, sometimes violently. Carroll does acknowledge that the definition of the trickster is broad and this is primarily because the trickster does not limit its appearance to a particular place or certain situations. This is a character that is quite dynamic, hence categorising it simply as an object of buffoonery is inadequate and misleading.

The definition of trickster tales seems straightforward although determining the sex of the trickster is not. Finnegan (1970) does not categorically state that the trickster is male. Instead, Finnegan gives an account of what characterises the trickster without mentioning how gender aids or hinders the trickster's engagement with the other animals. Okpewho (1992:182) does not gender the trickster but he defines the trickster tale as 'involving trickery and deceit, a breach of faith leading perhaps to the end of a relationship between the parties involved, mostly animals'. This relationship could be one where one animal becomes selfish and refuses to share the proceeds of a raid in which all parties were involved. The trickster resolves the tension and yet at times the trickster instigates the tension such that there is always the sense of duality that the trickster brings to a tale. What needs to be understood is whether the characters are male or female and more importantly, what gender the trickster is as the main character in the tale. Though Okpewho does not refer to the gender of the trickster he does mention how trickster tales have a particular structure about them.Scheub (1999) agrees that the trickster is ambiguous and often androgynous, but Scheub seems to identify the latter quality as being of secondary importance in the characterisation of the trickster. For instance, he says of the trickster that 'Disguise, deception, illusion are his tools and weapons. He is an ambiguous character, usually a male, he is often androgynous…the trickster is outrageous, obscene, death dealing, uncaring, ignoble. This does not mean he is incapable of socially acceptable practices and activities, but these are usually by-products of his acts rather than conscious efforts on his part' (Scheub1999:116).

Trickster tales are not noted for their didactic function but they do have a moral tone about them (Finnegan 1970; Okpweho 1992). However, what is often overlooked is that the characters are defined as either masculine or feminine depending on two important aspects, size and space. In other words it is not the story that is important so much as where the action takes place and the physical representation of the characters. These two features of trickster tales are crucial to reinforcing patriarchal ideology in terms of gender roles and expectations.

Rush (2012:4) shows how classic gender roles have given us two mutually exclusive spheres which can be said to dominate trickster tales even today. Rush labels these spheres 'the domestic/feminine and the public/masculine'. Trickster tales tend to show particular animals in particular locations and this use of space by the storyteller underlines expectations of patriarchy regarding how males and females relate

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to their environment. Julia Wood (1994:49) defines a role as a set of expected behaviours and the values associated with them. The consequence is that if trickster tales continuously depict certain animals in certain areas this creates in the listener a belief that only a certain sex should rightly be in a certain area. It is also observed that 'traditional Tswana status quo clearly demarcates the proper roles of men and women. In fact there are some cultural limitations to ensure that sexes do not trespass each other's role boundaries. If a man performs duties perceived as feminine it would be said "*ojisitswe*" (he has been bewitched, especially by the wife)' (Nkomazana 2008:8). Furthermore, that one's culture is a result of knowledge that has been socially obtained which further underlines how oral narratives can impact on children's socialisation (Mahadi*et al* 2012).

In addition, trickster tales provide an important reference point through which children relate to the world around them in the sense that though they are largely entertainment, these tales subconsciously teach about right and wrong, as well as depicting the domestic scene as the domain of women and the area outside the home as the male domain. Because the trickster moves with fluidity between these two domains children may assume that the trickster is indeed male. No wonder Lico (2001:30) is of the view that'space is an instrument of thought and action, which enacts the struggle over power between genders'. If the audience is made to believe that space is determined by one's sex and that how you behave is directly influenced by where you are as a male or female, then it becomes 'natural' to associate females with domestic space and males with economic space. Nicholas and Lascarides (2003:139) observe that 'if readers are carried beyond the textual bounds of the fictional world it is firstly, then, because texts are themselves worldly in the sense that they are already involved with and constituted through extra-literary discourse'.

Though Nicholas and Lascarides are using the written text as a point of departure, the same holds true for the oral text in that the medium may be different but the impact is similar. This is due to the fact that the oral tale comments on social dynamics just as the written tale but the major difference is that the oral tale is more immediate in that the storyteller's physical presence adds a dramatic appeal that the written text can never attain. Parkin (1984) explains that a way in which oratory can be influential is through its use of rhetoric such that the line between fantasy and reality can be negotiated and successfully blurred on the audience. 'Persuasion, to which rhetoric is devoted, is arrived at by a speaker through experimentation and exchanges with his audience' (Parkin1984:353). Because the oral performer's skills have been honed over time and performed to different audience groups he/she develops the experience necessary to coerce the mind and massage the emotions of the listener in a way that suits his/her purpose. So, in oral texts, the children laugh at the antics of the animals in trickster tales yet through this laughter they unconsciously learn that there are clearly defined boundaries that dictate movement of characters by sex. Nicholas (2003:139) underlines the point by quoting the French philosopher Derrida saying that 'literature...always is, it says, it does something else, something other than itself, and it itself moreover is only that, something other than itself'.So, the representation of gender, for instance, in the trickster tale can be done in a humorous manner but an important observation needs to be made that gender identity is not the same as gender stereotypes. The former relates to gendering someone based purely on their sex. The latter relates to a consensus that men (and women) may have personality characteristics that are attributed to one's gender.

In traditional African culture men are stereotyped as being aggressive, temperamental and opinionated whereas women are seen as passive, helpful and accommodating (Mtuze (1993). This portrayal of men and women is meted in the belief that such characteristics are innate and not a result of socialisation. The Anthropologist Margaret Mead in her 1935 book, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* concluded that the differences between men and women were not biological or natural but due to a process of socialisation. This is what Postmodernism dictates (Gaylard 2005), that there is no biological essence and as such one cannot gender the trickster as male simply because the character outwits the others. Ikalanga trickster tales depict these stereotypes but this is softened by the manner in which the tales are pack-

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aged as humour and entertainment such that analysis of these roles that buttress the patriarchal institution is muted if not ignored entirely.

Summary and Analysis of the Tale 'Hare and His Wife'

'Hare and his Wife' is an Ikalanga trickster tale in which the trickster is presented as male. The tale is about Hare's wife who is abducted by Hyena for the chief'spleasure (the lion, lord of the jungle). The wife is made of sticks and there is one at the top of the wife's head which hare pulls, resulting in the wife falling apart/ disintegrating (It is unclear why the wife is made of sticks although this can be a case of looks being deceptive). When Hare discovers his wife's absence, despite the fact that he had locked her in the hut, he sets out in search of her, following a trail of ash she left behind her using a gourd. As Hare follows the trail of ash he sings a beautiful song that results in him being invited to sing for the chief. The song however, carries a message of destruction that the other characters are not aware of. Consequently, Hare destroys his wife, who is not what she seems to be. She is made of sticks and is destroyed when Hare plucks the topmost stick from her head causing her to scatter in all directions. There is one variation of this tale in which the hyena's character is replaced by an ogre (*dimo in Setswana*). The tale of Hare and his wife was narrated by 76 year-old Machaba Lopang in Francistown to his children and grandchildren (see appendix). Unfortunately, no visual recording is available. No doubt this would have greatly enhanced the analysis and appreciation of the tale.

The tale, 'Hare and his Wife', shows how ownership is a fundamental part of a patriarchal society. It delineates those who command influence and power from those who do not. For instance, in the tale, Hare the man, shows that it is the men who exercise power in traditional society because they treat women like commodities or property, as something that can be possessed (evidenced by the wife being kept under lock and key). The payment of bogadi (bride price) reinforces this perception that women 'belong' to men.

In this tale the wife's power is represented by her ability to control movement into the hut she shares with her husband. She holds the key to the hut and is seemingly a barrier to those who harbour sinister designs. Her power, however, is limited since although she holds the key to the hut she cannot leave the hut. This is why this paper argues that Hare the man owns her. Being beautiful, Hare the man locks her up 'for her own sake'. Essentially, holding the key to her hut is a form of power that enslaves her. So it is paradoxical that she is in control only as long as she serves the interests of her husband who owns her. She depends on Hare the man to complete a song that determines if she can exercise her authority and open the door. Her power is regulated. A listener might have the perception that the female character has some form of power when in fact this power is non-existent. Hare's wife is the ideal traditional female who defers to her husband. She also understands that her place is in the home and that it is in her best interests to remain there. As a kept woman she is so used to her domestic environment that even when Hyena tricks her into opening the door she uses resources familiar to her as a woman, a gourd, to leave a trail of ash for her husband to follow her.

This depiction of the traditional woman reinforces certain stereotypes about women which the queer theory challenges. It has even been noted that the queer theory is "'queer" because it questions the assumption that there is a "normal" expression of gender' (Blaise and Taylor 2012:88). In this trickster tale the female character mirrors the expectations of the society and as such there is a culturally defined code of conduct created by men for women, which is not seen as female subjugation or moral debasement but as an ideal and standard of femininity. What we see in this tale is that sex roles mirror real life cultural expectations.

Among the Bakgatla for instance, this tale would be easy to relate to in the sense that the tale talks about how space is used by different genders. Mosothwane (2001) states that the burial practices of the

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Bakgatla in pre-Christian times mimicked the spaces that the sexes had occupied while still alive. As such women were buried in the houses while men were buried in the kraals. It is observed that 'the Bakgatla believed that a woman would continue guarding and working in the house in her afterlife and likewise a man was to continue taking care of his animals or crops'(Mosothwane2001:156). Such rituals made it extremely difficult for one to manoeuvre around because essentially to challenge them was to challenge the ways of the greatly revered ancestors. So the listener to the tale would be able to identify with the characterisation of the woman as she appears in this tale using his/her own perception of female relations as a point of reference. Thus the storyteller 'educates' the listener about the dangers of feminine beauty, that it is a source of actual or potential conflict and why, being the property of a man, a woman must be symbolically locked up to keep her away from male suitors. Hare's wife precipitates the conflict, and, it is Hare the trickster, who resolves the conflict.

Hare's wife occupies a feminine space that restricts her movement based on her gender, which is why hers is only 'perceived power'. It is a form of power that keeps her in her place, not one that expands her choices or equips her with the so-called masculine tools of conflict such as a knobkerrie. This is why she does not openly confront Hyena. So, in this particular tale, the wife's power is only power in name. Hare is presented as male and, therefore, he has physical as well as mental options to deal with the wife's abduction. These options will differentiate Hare the man from Hare the trickster. For instance, using intelligence to trick the chief is a quality that is androgynous and not defined by one's sex. The mental option, and the one that Hare the trickster prefers, is using intelligence to resolve the conflict, a characteristic of androgyny. The intelligence is revealed in the song Hare sings. It is a beautiful melody but the lyrics are sinister:

Gugutendeleguguntendelealoteya
Watolawangunlongo, watolawangunlongo
Nsiwandinkangwaanandonsenolathenga
Zwikunyanazwikatiwayawayapuu
Wayawayapuu

(Whoever has taken my wife, whoever has taken my wife
Should I find her, I will remove the top most stick
And all the little sticks will scatter
The sticks will scatter)

The onomatopoeia (*wayawayapuu*) at the end of the song emphasises the destruction that is going to occur. Through this song, Hare the trickster becomes distinguishable from Hare the conventional, patriarchal male who is the protagonist of this story. The song mesmerises everybody and Hare is able to pluck the topmost stick and the wife disintegrates. Hare the trickster destroys his wife and in this manner brings an end to the conflict. He does not directly go into conflict with the chief or Hyena as Hare the man would have done. Instead, the androgynous Hare targets that which it believes to be the source of the problem, the wife.

Traditionally husbands 'own' their wives and do with them as they please. It is the male figure who holds in his hands the life of the female figure –and he is in effect sculptured as a demigod. Even when she is deceived by Hyena and taken away against her will, she cannot destroy herself by removing the stick at the top of her head. She cannot choose when to die, that is a choice that is made for her by the husband who owns her. It is not clear from the narration whether the woman is aware of her mortality. The Hare's action is indicative of the cunning that this character displays in denying the chief his wife.

Since it has been said that Hare is neither from the masculine nor feminine paradigm, how can

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Hare's character be categorised in this tale in which Hare is conceptualised as male? Perhaps, we should look to the observation that the 'queer theory is a framework that offers insights into how seemingly "natural" and "normal" gender as constructed by dominant gender discourses, is regulated by being linked to seemingly "natural" and "normal" discourse of sexuality' (Blaise and Taylor 2012:12). This trickster tale explores actions by the trickster that question notions of masculinity.

Earlier we stated that the trickster uses a weapon. However, the knobkerrie is not used and this is an unexpected response because traditional notions of masculinity would require that the man fight for his honour. It differs from conventional masculine warlike responses. When the trickster is presented as male, 'he' not only becomes the protagonist but also, from a patriarchal viewpoint, the precipitator of action. 'He' moves the story and all the other characters react to 'his' actions. As the trickster is at the heart of the action, so too is in the real world where the ideal male is believed to be the one who makes the society function. There is a sense of parallel reality for the listener when the trickster is presented as an ideal male. In other words, the male listener aspires to become like the trickster, whereas the female listener aspires to have 'him' as a father figure or husband. While setting in oral narratives can be surreal, these narratives are given a realistic base. The more characters in oral narratives mimic the world of reality the more meaningful and believable they become to the listener.

If the storyteller presents the trickster as male this conditions our subsequent opinions of the trickster. A male trickster echoes the community's own conception of 'maleness'. However, the presentation of the trickster as male does not detract from the comments we make above on androgyny. For instance, an idea of what constitutes 'maleness' can be affected in cases where a male character responds unexpectedly to a situation that calls for a certain socially conditioned response. In 'Hare and his wife' Hare's character responds unexpectedly in a crisis situation. This character does not fight for his wife's honour, which would be a typical male response in this particular situation. Fighting is not an option for this male character. The masculine paradigm does not manifest itself in Hare's character to the extent that warrants physical aggression.

Hare's action shows that the masculine paradigm (with its obsession to possess beauty) is preoccupied with a fruitless endeavour. Beauty is fickle and Hare's character is intended to prick the conscience of men and their traditional conception of beauty based on their understanding of 'femaleness'. The male characters have gone to great trouble to acquire something that is ultimately worthless. The woman's personality as defined by others is real but the form is not. It is because Hare's character does not operate within the confines of a masculine or feminine paradigm that this lesson can be imparted. The listener may not pick this lesson if the tale is looked at solely as entertainment.

Vision 2016 Pillar of an Informed and Educated Nation and a Moral and Tolerant Nation

Vision 2016 has two pillars that are relevant here. Pillar one emphasises on the need for an Informed and Educated Nation. This means that a sustained process of teaching and learning is important towards creating a nation that can make decisions that build the pool of knowledge around such topics as oral literature and how they portray male female relations for instance. Pillar six talks of 'A Moral and Tolerant Nation' (Republic of Botswana 1997). Essentially this means that in terms of gender equality there is a need to sensitize communities on the scourge of gender discrimination particularly with regards to the role of women and attitudes towards them. Folktales such as the one of Hare and his wife, do show that the portrayal of women remains traditional with female characters being associated with the home and male characters being free to operate outside the confines of the domestic sphere.

More needs to be done on the link between oral narratives and gender discrimination and/ or abuse. On the cusp of Vision 2016, there has yet to be in-depth analysis on how folktales perpetuate the abuse of males and females. Oral narratives have generally been seen as fantasy inadvertently creating a huge gulf

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between its content and reality. There is a need for scholars to re-read oral narratives both as examples of the realism that exists in Botswana's gender debate as well as the foundation from which this debate is interrogated. Vision 2016, pillar 1 and pillar 6, should have interrogated how the oral text influences opinion, particularly amongst the youthful audience.

It is important, post-2016, to interrogate the role of the storyteller with regards to how they inform and educate the nation as well as create an atmosphere of tolerance. In other words, how the storyteller dramatises a scene in a story can inflame the passions with regards to sex role portrayal or understate the importance of issues such as awareness of gender relations. The storyteller's use of tonal variations, pitch, dramatisations, and even denying some characters a voice (as is the case with Hare's wife) all helps towards nurturing in the audience a particular gender profile about the characters.

Conclusion

This paper has argued that queer theory can provide an alternative understanding to Ikalanga trickster tales. The traditional views of femininity and masculinity when applied to the trickster character can show an element of androgyny that allows for a better appreciation of the tale. As long as the trickster is seen through the eyes of rigid dichotomies of gender then our understanding of this character will be inadequate. The trickster is successful because it operates outside the confines of patriarchy. It is not a masculine nor a feminine character but an androgynous figure who is at ease regardless of the gender space it occupies. Gendering the trickster will always remain a complex subject in that one has to deal with traditional approaches to sex roles that effectively pigeonhole characters in trickster tales.

With Vision 2016 in mind there is a need to make the listener and the storyteller aware that gender should not be an issue towards determining what a character can and cannot do in a particular social setting. Seeing the trickster as androgynous will help to break down these psychological barriers. There is a need in the Postmodern age to go beyond essentialism and acknowledge that individuals are socialised into believing that one's sex determines behaviour. Storytelling is an ideal place to begin in order to change mind sets and attain the promises inherent in the Vision 2016 pillar of an informed and educated nation.

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Appendix

'Hare and His Wife'
by Machaba Lopang

A long time ago there lived Hare with his wife in their house. Every day when Hare went to hunt, his wife locked herself in the house. This was because when he returned he would sing a secret song to his wife in order for her to recognise him and open the door. This ritual was important because there were certain men who wanted to steal Hare's wife. So, whenever Hare returned, he would sing the following song with his wife: '*jangajangakunja** (let me in)'.

The wife would reply as follows, asking him what he had brought from the hunt:

'*Jangakulijangakunja*(what are you carrying?')
And Hare would say '*Jangakulinjajakunja* (a guinea fowl and a rabbit)'

His wife would know that her husband had returned. She would then open the door. However, there were certain individuals who were constantly trying to find out what Hare's wife says before opening the door. One day they overheard Hare singing the secret song. One of the animals, Hyena, who wanted to steal Hare's wife went to the house when Hare was not around and sang just as he had heard Hare and his wife sing. When Hyena was at the door he sang:

'*Jangakunja*(let me in)'.
However, the voice that sang this song was very coarse and so Hare's wife refused to open the door. Hyena

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then went to look for a traditional doctor to help him. The traditional doctor asked Hyena, 'How do you sing the song when you are there?'

Hyena replied, '*Jangakunja*let me in'.
And the traditional doctor asked, 'What is it then that makes the wife refuse to open the door?'
Hyena then said to the traditional doctor, 'It is because my voice is very hoarse and not as smooth as Hare's'.

The traditional doctor then came up with the following solution: 'For you to have a voice as smooth as Hare's, when you get home you must build a huge fire. When the coals are hot, you must pick up one and swallow it'.

Hyena returned home and did as he was told. When he began to sing to Hare's wife, she again realised that the voice was not that of her husband and refused to open. When Hyena woke up early the next morning, he built a tremendous fire that produced brilliant embers. When he started singing by the wife's door, his voice was exactly like Hare's, and the wife then opened the hut. After she had opened the door, she realised that this was not her husband. Hyena entered and then told her: 'I have come to collect you. You are wanted by the chief'.

The wife then replied: 'Alright. First let me prepare myself'. By 'preparing' herself she wanted to weave together means by which Hare would be able to know where she was being taken. So, she took a gourd and filled it with ash. When this was done she then said: 'We can go now'.

Then they went. Now Hare's wife had made a hole at the bottom of the gourd so that the gourd should leave a trail of ash for Hare to follow. When Hare returned he found the house empty. He took his knobkerrie and followed the trail. Let us first say that sticks that had been tied together by strings had moulded this woman. And that, on top of her head, there was a stick slightly taller than the rest. As Hare followed the direction taken by his wife, he started to sing. The song carried this warning: 'If I find my wife I will remove the stick at the top of her head. These sticks that are holding her together will fall apart'. Now this song was sang in this way"

Gugutendelegugutendelealoteya
Watolawangunlongo
Watolawangunlongo
Nsiwandikangwanandosenolathenga
Zwikunyanazwikatiwayawayapuu, wayawayapuu.

He then went on singing this song while following the trail of ash from the gourd. When the other animals heard Hare singing this beautiful song they went around saying: 'Let us take him to the chief so that he can perform for him'. Hare's wife had been taken to the chief to be his new bride. The animals then took Hare to the chief and said: 'Chief, listen how Hare sings such a beautiful song'.

The animals began to gather in very large numbers at the chief's house so that they could witness Hare sing his beautiful song. The chief then came out of his house and sat in his royal chair. After he had sat down with his new bride, Hare's wife, Hare began his song:

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Gugutendelegugutendelealoteya
Watolawangunlongo
Watolawangunlongo
Nsiwandikangwanandosenolathenga
Zwikunyanazwikatiwayawayapuu, wayawayapuu.

The animals were very happy, showing appreciation at this beautiful song. They then said Hare should sing closer to the chief. Hare got up and sang more beautifully than before, dancing from here to there, getting closer and closer to his wife. When the animals were still enjoying the song, Hare pounced on his wife and snatched the stick that was on top of her head. As he snatched this stick all the sticks fell apart leaving nothing left. Hare then ran away! The tale ends.

(*The meaning of *Jangakunja* and *gugutendele* could not be ascertained by the narrator other than that it was simply a tune).

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